

Review Staff: 76-0165
29 January 1976

Mr. Thomas K. Latimer
Special Assistant to the Secretary
and Deputy Secretary of Defense
Room 3 E 941
The Pentagon

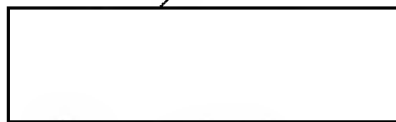
Dear Mr. Latimer:

On 22 January 1976 the Senate Select Committee requested access to, and copies of, the attached documents which were written by George Wendt, in an investigation for the Psychology Department of the University of Rochester. Our records indicate that Wendt, in 1950, received a grant from the Office of Naval Research to conduct research in connection with interrogation techniques. In order to implement his inquiries, Wendt was sent to Germany to study and evaluate the interrogation methods of various defector reception centers.

In order to comply with the Third Agency Rule, we ask your approval to release the documents to the Committee. Should you approve their release and if you so desire, we will properly sanitize them prior to their dispatch to the SSC. In such instances, we generally remove the names of cooperating Americans and/or foreign nationals and paraphrase or excise those sections where we feel their inclusion could compromise intelligence sources and methods.

Sincerely,

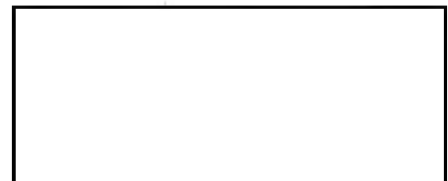
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Attachment:
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REPORT OF TRIP TO EUROPE TO STUDY PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS
IN INTERROGATION

G. R. Wendt
May 10, 1951

Purpose of trip: The trip was undertaken so that Wendt could get a general impression of interrogation procedures, of the field settings in which interrogation takes place, and of the psychological problems involved in interrogation, preparatory to the design of experimental procedures for testing the value of chemical agents in interrogation.

Nature of survey: The information was gathered by interviewing interrogators and by observing interrogation in Germany and Austria. The people interviewed were naval intelligence officers, army intelligence, CIC and CID personnel, American and German psychologists working on interrogation problems, and one former German major general who had been interrogated by the Russians. Interrogation by ONI and CIC personnel was observed. The stay in Germany and Austria was from 1 March to 20 March 1951. A partial list of the places visited and personnel interviewed follows: (Those indicated by an asterisk were interviewed without being told that Wendt was interested in interrogation problems but gave substantial information nevertheless.) Oberusel and the JIC of ECIC (Dr. Joseph LaSalle, Capt. Reich, Max Coreth, F. J. Trauttmansdorff, Mr. von Baumbach, Dr. Schreiber, Cdr. Tyler), Berlin (Capt. Graubart), Heidelberg (Capt. Behnke who was given the impression that Wendt's interest in interrogation was only one of a number of interests in a survey of psychological work.), Frankfurt (Dr. Leo Crespi, Dr. Adorno*), Vienna (Cdr. Douglas Cook), Salzburg (Lt. Charles Rocheleau) and Munich (Lt. Rychly, Mr. Chall*). Two CIC installations were visited but need not be identified. Capt. Graubart, Dr. LaSalle, Cdr. Tyler, and Lt. Rychly had been informed through channels of the ultimate purpose of the survey; the others were told by Wendt only that he was studying psychological problems of interrogation. In most cases the interviews were detailed, taking up to six hours of time. Observations of interrogation of cooperative sources on strategic intelligence material was done at JIC of ECIC and of reluctant sources at one of the CIC installations.

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Purpose of this report: ^{ROCHESTER, NEW YORK} This report is written so that the impressions gathered by Wendt, who was completely unacquainted with the field of interrogation, may be recorded and submitted to experienced officers in ONI to check their accuracy, relevancy, and completeness. In other words, this report is not written as a scientist's analysis of the interrogation problems but as the impressions of a novice after very short acquaintance. It includes also some preliminary and very tentative suggestions of possible experimental approaches to the problem of use of chemical aids to interrogation.

General impressions and evaluations: The general impression is that the psychological problems of interrogation are not unique. They appear to be of the same nature as those in such other human relations situations as the employment interview, the psychiatric interview, sales interview, in propaganda work, morale work, leadership situations, and are in some ways like the procedures involved in experimental studies of suggestion and hypnosis. This is encouraging, since experimental methods for interview analysis and evaluation have been worked out in these fields and can probably be applied with little modification to the interrogation problem. However, it is expected that relatively little scientific work of a useful nature will be found which corresponds to the procedures used in those interrogations which depend for their effectiveness primarily on fear, threats, punishment or deprivation. Such interviews have not been subjected to scientific study to any extent. One must look directly in the field situations and in police work for experience in this area.

The general impression of the field situation is that the few interrogators operating at a professional level of performance are outstanding for their rarity and that much improvement in recruiting, selection and training of interrogators and in the procedures and equipment used in interrogation is possible and needed. There is a wealth of opportunity for psychological research in these areas and also a fair amount of already available information which might be of immediate help.

The general impression of the possibilities for help from chemical agents is that significant gains in the efficiency of interrogation are probable, but that the likelihood of any dramatically successful chemical method is rather low. Furthermore, it appears predictable that no single substance or combination of substances will suit all situations, but that different chemical procedures will be helpful

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in different situations: prisoner of war screening, interrogation of reluctant sources, of cooperative sources, monitored conversations, checking veracity of total story, producing a "break", etc. To make contributions to all of these situations seems to call for a relatively long program of experimentation in which the early efforts should be directed to those methods which seem most likely to be of some slight but immediate help and most likely to be applicable in the field, rather than to an all-out search for a "wonder drug."

Finally, Wendt came back with some clearer views about the ethics of the use of chemical substances in interrogation. Their ethical inappropriateness seems to have been much magnified, if one surveys present approved practices in interrogation. The ethical objection to use of chemical substances seems to rest largely on popular emotional and irrational connotations of the word "drug." Even intelligent and well-informed people seem to fear the word. Actually, most of the possible classes of chemical action on the body are now in general use in interrogation in the form of the drugs commonly used in our culture. Examples are: (1) Use of over-stimulation by coffee and cigarettes. (2) Use of the withdrawal symptoms of an addict, by deprivation of tobacco. (3) Use of an anaesthetic drug, alcohol. (4) Use of chemically toxic conditions in the body, produced by sleep loss. Very little that is different in kind (or perhaps in amount) can be expected from substances identified in the public mind with the word "drug".

Characteristics of interrogation: It was uniformly stated by the interrogators seen in this survey that no generalizations can be made about interrogation, because of the great variety of factors which enter into the situation. In its most extreme form this statement becomes, "every case is unique."

To some extent this is true, because, not alone are there numerous factors which differ among various interrogation situations, but each pattern of factors tends to create a new set of problems. In this sense there is a tremendous variety of different specific problems of interrogation. The problem is much greater in scope than that facing research in restricted areas such as psychotherapeutic counseling, salesmanship, etc.

However, in spite of this great variety, there appear to be enough common elements of procedure and technic in wide areas of interrogation, so that an experimental approach can be devised which can produce broadly useful results.

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This report attempts only to list some of the classes of factors with respect to which interrogations differ, without indicating the ways in which these differences interact with one another. A writer would need to expand this outline to textbook proportions to cover adequately the scope of the problem.

I. Kinds of interrogation and ways in which they differ.

A. Structures of interrogation, such as

1. One Interrogator, one Source, I known as such to S.
2. Same, except for addition of interpreter.
3. Same as (1) except for addition of secretary.
4. Two or more known I's, one S.
5. One or more known I's, two or more S's. (Group interrogation may have 10 S's at once.)
6. One I, unknown to S. (As at bars, night clubs, the nurse-patient relation in hospitalized prisoners, etc.)
7. Monitored or recorded conversations between prisoners.

B. Places of interrogation, such as

1. Front line field stations.
2. Army group level.
3. Interrogation centers.
4. Prisons, etc.
5. Homes.
6. Bars, night clubs, etc.

C. Amount of information sought.

1. Screening only - interrogation may be limited to a few minutes.
2. Single session interrogation.
3. Several sessions.

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4. Long interrogations, up to a year.
5. Interrogations of unique important S's.

D. Kinds of information sought, such as

1. Background information on S.
2. Background information on others.
3. Information on criminal or espionage activities of S.
4. Strategic information, low level.
5. Cultural information.
6. Technical information.
7. Scientific information.
8. Planning information.

II. Characteristics of the Source which affect interrogation.

A. Sex.

B. Age.


C. Educational level.

1. Grade school.
2. High school.
3. College.
4. Professional.
5. Scientific.

D. Specialty of Source, such as

1. Enlisted personnel.
2. Non-coms.
3. Young officers.

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4. Senior ~~officers~~ THE UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER
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 5. High level military personnel.
 6. Civilian, farmers.
 7. Civilian, trades.
 8. Civilian, business.
 9. Civilian, professional.
 10. Civilian, scientists.
 11. Civilian, government.
 12. Low-level espionage agents, subversives and criminals.
 13. Espionage agents.
- E. Cultural background of Source, such as
1. Nationality.
 2. Region.
 3. Rural or urban.
 4. Socio-economic level.
 5. Political affiliations.
 6. Religious affiliation.
 7. Occupation, as above in D.
- F. Emotional state of Source as influenced by such things as
1. POW recently in combat.
 2. Air crew shot down behind lines.
 3. Fearful because of crime or espionage to be concealed.
 4. Fear of brutality in interrogation.
 5. After-effects of solitary confinement.

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6. Fatigue from combat or induced sleep loss.
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 7. Discomfort because of withdrawal of tobacco from addicted S.
 8. Depression from sense of helplessness.
 9. Bravado, as in some imposters.
 10. Eagerness, as in some voluntary S's.
 11. Source approaching a "break".
- G. Traits of Source, such as
1. Personality, such as
 - a. psychopaths.
 - b. others (The personality of the S, and its interaction with that of the I, is one of the very important variables in the success or speed of interrogation. However, little that is useful can be said about it in a brief space because of the complexity of personality and because of the lack of useful codified information directly applicable to the interrogation problem.)
 2. Character.
 3. Life history.
- H. Physiological states of S, such as those
1. Due to sleep loss.
 2. Due to malnutrition.
 3. Due to overstimulation by coffee, cigarettes.
 4. Due to withdrawal of tobacco.
 5. Due to over-heated interrogation room.
- I. Attitudes of Source toward Interrogator, such as
1. Cooperative, no restraints.

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2. Cooperative, fearful of consequences.
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3. Apparently cooperative, really an imposter.
4. Reluctant, hardened criminal.
5. Reluctant, fearful, but no crime.
6. Reluctant, fearful because criminal or espionage.
7. Apparently reluctant, but imposter.
8. Looks down on interrogator, self-confident.

J. Other attitudes based on reputation of the interrogation system, such as

1. Knowledge on part of the professional Russian agents that American interrogators are not allowed to use force.
2. Lack of respect for system resulting from infiltration of American interrogation centers.
3. Fear in some S's induced by Russian propaganda about alleged suicides of prisoners of CIC.
4. Difficulties arising from knowledge that American interrogators cannot always carry out promises of protection of defectors.

III. Characteristics of the Interrogator which affect Source, such as

- A. Age.
- B. Prestige.
- C. Personality. (see above, II,G,1,b)
- D. Training.
- E. Specialities in which he has extensive knowledge.
- F. Language facility and accent.
- G. Cultural information.
- H. Beliefs about interrogation.

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- I. Skill in judging Sources.
- J. Dramatic ability.
- K. Self-critical ability.
- L. Aptitude for interrogation.

IV. Procedures and technics in interrogation.

When one moves into the area of the actual procedures by which interrogators achieve their results, it becomes much more difficult to get from them a clear statement of how they proceed. They are apt to use descriptions such as "I just decide intuitively", "interrogators are born, not made", or to have recourse to anecdotes about specific cases. Their grasp of what they are doing appears much less well-organized than the fairly well-codified procedures in, for example, non-directive counseling, psychoanalytic interviews, psychiatric interview, employee-relations interview, propaganda efforts, etc., yet it seems fairly certain that most actual interrogations use exactly the same procedures which have been codified for these other areas. Furthermore, many of their specific procedures internal to an interrogation resemble those in other interview situations such as the psychotherapeutic interview. The human relations set up in short and long interrogations have counter-parts in leadership situations, suggestion experiments, the transference relationship of psychotherapy, and others. Only in the area of the police-type interrogation, cross examination, and checking does one meet problems which have been little studied by psychologists in the U.S.A. and on which few published researches exist.

An adequate outline of these procedures and technics would be the work of several months. In lieu of such a survey, it does not seem worthwhile to do more than make a few comments.

In all interrogations the propaganda principle of use of related attitudes is of first importance. Interrogators are selected and trained for detailed knowledge of the language, culture and attitudes of the S's. In the case of unique S's, extensive efforts may be made to reconstruct their childhood and later history in order to know what attitudes to play on. (Psychological test methods such as projective technics do not appear to have been used to get such information.)

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Another fundamental principle of propaganda (and suggestion) is also common in interrogation: that of, if possible, not making suggestions or asking questions which will arouse resistance.

Displacement of aggression, displacement of shame and other basic propaganda devices also appear in interrogation. Use of old habit systems is made use of in a way similar to such use by hypnotists or experimenters on suggestion.

Some interrogators use some of the technics of non-directive counseling and psychiatric interviews in the reduction of talking on their own part by use of the introduction of pauses, and by the use of the technic of "reflecting feelings."

In long, skillful interrogations the S may come to look on the I as a friend. This may develop into the same kind of relationship as "transference" in psychotherapy. Interrogators must also avoid counter-transference in order not to lose sight of their objectives.

Interrogators have probably given more thought than most interviewers to the problem of timing of the interrogation, in order to see the S at a favorable time and in a favorable state. They appear equally aware of the need for selection of the proper personality of I to work with a particular S, as in true in, say, psychotherapy.

The plan of procedure for an interrogator will differ with the importance of the S, the expected length of interrogation, the attitude of the S, the I - S personality relationship, and other factors. It may be friendly from the beginning, non-committal while putting the burden of proof on S, primarily based on anxiety, or mixed. The technics used will vary with the plan. It is in the area of criminal interrogation that the lack of information got by this survey was most serious.

Some preliminary thinking about experimental studies of use of chemical agents as aids to interrogation: Interrogations differ in conditions, length, purpose, emotional tone and other ways. They differ also with the personality of the S being interrogated. It seems likely that no single substance or combination of substances will suit every situation or person. In some cases a general cerebral depressant may be useful, not to force truth, but to make falsehood more difficult. In others depressants of specific systems, general stimulants, or stimulants of specific systems might be desired. Profound depressants have been used as "truth serums" and in narcosynthesis. Substances producing immediate toxic effects or cumulative toxic effects might, at least, in theory, be considered. Finally, one could addict a person and use withdrawal of

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the substance to produce the desired physiological and psychological state. The experimental work will, of course, need to be restricted to safe, non-toxic doses of substances, and use of addiction (except that already present to tobacco) as a means of affecting subjects will not be possible.

The concept of "drug" should be as broad as necessary. It should include not only what are commonly conceived of as drugs and chemicals, but should include also hormones, vitamins (or their withdrawal), gases, such as freon or carbon monoxide, or low oxygen level, culturally acceptable drugs such as coffee, alcohol, tobacco smoke (or its withdrawal), and perhaps normal ways of altering body chemistry by fatigue, sleep loss, lack of food, and stress induced by psychological or by physical means (such as exposure to wave motion or to noise or vibration). Combinations of drugs, hormones, stresses and gases might turn out to be desirable.

Experimental work should not be restricted to the Laboratory. It is also possible in the actual field interrogation situation, in prisons, in mental hospitals and narcotic hospitals.

Field studies must be done as soon as enough laboratory experience is available to assure that they can run smoothly. They will be difficult for security reasons. It is probably best that on such a mission, only one scientist go, with such auxiliary help from people he has long associated with, as is necessary. There appear to be very few places where the work can safely be done. When done, it should run for at least a month with no use of drugs so that the investigator may know the local scene.

Prisons may be a very necessary work place to get access to criminal-type interrogations of reluctant sources. The writer once had good political connections with the Sheriff in charge of the local county jail and may be able to revive these, if desirable.

Mental hospital patients do not seem to be good subjects. The interpretation of results derived from them depends on knowledge of the psychological mechanism of the psychosis. Inasmuch as our theory of psychosis is very unsure (and probably wrong) such work might be quite misleading.

Work on narcotic addicts suffers on two counts. The immediate effects of narcotics cannot validly be predicted for the interrogation situation from observing their effects on experienced people. It would be like predicting the effects of a person's first cigar by observing an old cigar-smoker. Secondly, to observe the withdrawal symptoms will

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not be practically useful, since such methods are unlikely to be used in American interrogation.

The best place for an immediate attack on the problem is the laboratory. Here one can work on a variety of substances, in a variety of interview situations, and with subjects differing in personality as needed. There are some security problems, but these can probably be handled adequately by avoiding a few kinds of work which must be reserved for a prison or field settings.

It is planned to operate the Rochester project as an Open one with only two or three of the project personnel or consultants knowing the purpose of the work at the outset. The fact that most of the personnel will not know the purpose of the research is necessary because of the slowness of clearance procedures. This may not operate as a severe handicap. It seems likely that one can present ideas to a research group attractively enough so that they will freely elect to work on relevant situations.

In order to accomplish this it is now planned to give an explanation to the project personnel as follows: ONR was interested in the psychological effects of drugs. Since Wendt was already working for them in this field, and since he was a physiological psychologist, they came to him. He, however, gradually came to conceive it as a problem requiring a broader, social psychological approach, and pointed out the pressing needs for better methods in the area of evaluation of the behavioral effects of chemical agents. The burgeoning of the pharmaceutical industry and the millions being spent on research on ACTH and cortisone are examples. Millions are being spent, but behavioral methods for drug assessment do not exist. ONR went along with this idea and raised its sights so that adequate funds were made available for an intensive project. Wendt feels, and this view is shared by ONR, that the greatest immediate practical gain can come in the area of drug research aimed at aiding the psychotherapeutic process. This can be done especially thru studying chemical means of aiding the psychiatric interview by reduction of inhibitions, increasing compliance, reducing or increasing anxiety, facilitating verbal output and fluency, producing euphoria, getting access to deep memories, etc. Once the idea is accepted by the staff that Wendt gradually came to conceive of this as a social psychological problem, and that his present attitude represents a sort of "conversion" on his part, he should get enthusiastic support from his colleagues. There will, unfortunately, always be bright people who will guess the real purpose, but this need not be disturbing, if one expects it.

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Certain tentative preliminary plans and some fixed commitments as to plans have been made. The laboratory plan constitutes a fairly fixed commitment. It will consist chiefly of interview rooms with microphones and one-way vision screens. Most of the rooms will be large enough for group work. One is arranged for gas content control and will be used to study the effects of low oxygen on interview behavior. The first drug study will probably be on benzedrine since this offers a minimum of security risk and promises to be a useful drug. Normal subjects, carefully selected to represent various personality types, will probably be used over long periods of time. Various kinds of behavior will be sampled. For example, it is planned to monitor spontaneous conversations with our receptionist, who will furnish planned conversational leads. The explanation given to the S's to account for the period of conversation will be that they must "rest so as to get into a basal condition for physiological tests". Interviews of a variety of types will be used, including "depth" interviews. These could use as material a diary of emotions kept by each S from which the S's motivations for each emotional episode could be explored in interviews. The object would be to create interview situations in which the S would have an opportunity to reveal material he was ashamed of or afraid to make known. Group situations could also be profitably employed, using methods already developed by Carter in the Rochester laboratory. Day books, diaries, questionnaires and actual behavior observations could sample behavior outside the laboratory.

In each of these areas fairly numerous methods exist for categorizing and coding the behavior and the records taken during interviews. Quantitative measurements of fluency, amount of information, "depth" of information, loss of inhibitions, compliance, euphoria, anxiety or other desired behavior systems can be attempted by coding based on already available methods. The personnel now being considered is expert in these fields. The type of person hired will constitute the greatest fixed commitment in the plans.

More classical experimental methods of physiology and psychology should also be used, in part to act as a cover for the real purpose of the work, and in part to give necessary information. Tests of performance efficiency, of suggestibility, free and controlled association tests, etc. may be included. The present drug studies of the laboratory should also be continued and integrated with this new project.

The investigator has intentionally refrained from planning the study in detail, prior to hiring a staff, because of the uniform experience of scientific groups that creative work is greater when the group

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develops, or thinks it develops, the plan. It would not be wise to specify details until the group assembles. For this reason the foregoing description was intentionally kept general and is to be regarded as tentative only.

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